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JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" May I know whether this Government have asked the Government of India for concessional rates for the transport of fish by railway, as after all the railways are our railways? "

THE HON. SRI J. L. P. ROCHE VICTORIA :—" The matter is under correspondence with them. One or two methods of transport have been tried, and it was found under those methods that the fish arrived at the place of destination in a very good condition. So the matter is being pursued now with the railway authorities."

DR. SYED TAJUDDIN :—" Sir, will Government think of charging for transport of fish the parcel rates now charged for fruits? Sir, the lowest rates are being charged for transport of fruits. My information is that for fruits only quarter rates are being charged. Similarly, for the transport of fish will Government think of charging only quarter rates? "

THE HON. SRI J. L. P. ROCHE VICTORIA :—" There is this difference between fruits and fish. Fruits are being transported in ordinary vans, while fish cannot be so transported. It is being sent packed in ice. And if it is to be sent in refrigerator vans, special wagons will have to be provided, and those wagons are costlier than ordinary wagons. That is why the railway authorities are levying special rates for the transport of fish."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Questions over."

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—GOVERNMENT BUSINESS.

DISCUSSION OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE FOR 1951-52.

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, on the last occasion I said that any criticism levelled in this House or in the other House was ineffective, as our friends sitting on the Treasury Bench had already committed themselves to the new services mentioned in the Supplementary Estimates. So, Sir, any criticism levelled now is of no consequence. But I must take advantage of this occasion to speak again about the seasonal conditions prevailing in many parts of this State. I am afraid, as I said last time, my hon. Friend, the Revenue Minister's outlook has become that of a brown bureaucrat. He seems to have forgotten altogether his past career, which is by no means inglorious. In the policy of famine relief he pursues he has not included several measures."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" May I know how you define a bureaucrat? "

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" Bureaucrats are those who are not affected by anything they see around. They

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believe in red-tapism; they go by rules and regulations; and they do not swerve this way or that way from those rules and regulations. In ordinary times bureaucrats will be able to carry on better than other people. But in times of emergency some imagination is necessary to realise what effect any step taken by them will have on the people for whom they are meant.

"I wonder if my friend, the Hon. Revenue Minister, has forgotten that the committee on which he and I were members as far back as 1939 changed the objective of famine relief in this State. For his benefit I would like to read how we have changed the purpose of famine relief. It is something which radically changes the outlook a Government should possess in dealing with a population suffering from distress. The wording runs like this:

'It must also be remembered that while the main object of State intervention is to save life, it is none the less essential to maintain people in good health and prevent physical deterioration and dispiritedness among them so that they may be in a position to resume their pursuits with advantage to themselves and the State on the advent of better times.'

I would like my friend to examine how far the gruel centres that he has opened, how far the expansion of ordinary works he has ordered will bring about this result. It is all right if the object of the Famine Code is merely to save people from death. But the present policy of the Government, governed as it is by the objective I just now read out, is not mere saving of the people from starvation. It is much more than what a bureaucratic Government adopted in regard to famine relief. I am surprised that my friend seems to think still of the old days before this change was effected. Of late we have been reading of the measures taken by this Government in order to relieve distress. Will my friend, the hon. the Revenue Minister say that giving of gratuitous relief is the same as giving gruel, insufficient gruel at these centres? Does he agree that the relief given to dependents engaged on famine relief work is the same as giving gruel? I do not know why my friend's memory is so short. He and I visited a number of famine camps, he and I advised the then Government how the Famine Code should be amended so that the people who are really in distress are maintained not only from physical deterioration but also that they do not suffer from the feeling of dispiritedness, which is much more serious than physical starvation. I only appeal to him to give effect to this. I do not want to take the House through the various measures they have adopted, because we are not yet in possession of information of any comprehensive measures which this Government have taken except what we gather from the bits of reports that appear in the papers now and then. Government have not so far issued a detailed report of the measures they have adopted to relieve distress. We are still in the stage of mere expansion of departmental works. My friend seems to have said in the other House that by the time His Excellency the Governor goes on tour to the distressed areas all the works would be in full swing. It is not like magic that such works can be organized. Men have to be found, officers have to be posted and necessary

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materials have to be gathered. Now, may I ask, what have the Government done so far except making much noise in the papers that they have done everything in the matter.

" I wish my hon. Friend takes up this matter seriously and, 3 p.m.
before laying down office, formulates the various measures designed to meet this objective of famine relief and not the old objective. I am not speaking of any particular area; I am speaking of all areas in acute distress. I do not mind whether they are in Rayalaseema, North Arcot, Chingleput or anywhere else. Is he satisfied that the expansion of departmental works will enable him to find out whether there is real distress? There is difference of opinion as to whether departmental works or test works should be preferred to find out the exact nature and extent of the distress. I would like him to take steps for giving relief where he is personally satisfied by his visit that there is acute distress. Let him even dispense with test works and straightway start relief works. Does he not know that in a departmental work, the amount of work allotted to a worker is much more than in a famine relief work? He is reported to have said in the other House that a worker will be paid by his outturn. A worker who has nothing to eat and has been undergoing severe suffering and has become dispirited will not be strong enough to turn out that amount of work which will make him earn the full wage. How are the landless labourers benefited by the policy which he has enunciated? I want him to say what exactly the Government propose to do first and what they propose to do next in case the measures they undertake are not enough to mitigate distress. Summer months are fast approaching. The worst period in a famine are the months of May and June. Generally rains start in June and let us hope that by God's grace rain will start in June this year. How are the famine-stricken people helped not only to exist but also to maintain their spirit which is very necessary for them to resume agricultural operations after the famine is over? As a Minister in a Government responsible to the people and not a bureaucratic Government which is not responsible to the people, he should brush aside that part of the Secretariat procedure which causes delay and take quick action to relieve suffering. Sanction of a service can wait, but feeding the people and enabling them to live cannot wait. After all, I do not want him to dole out charities. I want him to provide work for the people and, when the people do the work, provide sufficient food for them. Those people who cannot work and those to whom work could not be provided should be taken care of by the State till normal times come.

" My hon. Friend has been saying that the Government are going to undertake works of public utility. He has been one of those who have gone round with me and always criticized the previous Government whenever they did not undertake works of public utility. May I ask him whether he has got a list of works of public utility in each area where there is suffering? What works of public utility are going to be undertaken? I have been urging

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this Government to take up the earthwork on the Lower Sagileru Project in Badvel taluk which is one of the worst famine-affected areas in Cuddapah district. Here is a scheme on which the Chief Engineer has sent his report to the Government and all the technical aspects have been considered. Is this not a work of permanent public utility? It is said that the scheme has not been sanctioned by the Government. If the scheme is considered good and worthwhile undertaking, why should not the Government sanction it? After all, the Government consist of the hon. Members sitting on the Treasury Bench. If they want, they can come to a decision at any time. All that is necessary is only the will to come to a decision. At least the earthwork may be allowed to be done now to provide employment for the famine-stricken people and the other portions of the work which require skilled workmen may be taken up later on. I understand that this project has been dropped altogether. It is not fair to the people of the area.

"The Hon. Revenue Minister knows that roads laid under famine relief schemes are neglected afterwards. They are useful so long as they are maintained. But if they are neglected, the money spent on laying them is a waste."

"I mentioned the Lower Sagileru Project only as an instance. There may be works of public utility in the other famine-affected areas. I want that all works of public utility which have been considered good from the technical and other points of view should be undertaken. Let my hon. Friend, the Revenue Minister, draw up a programme in consultation with the Chief Engineer, settle the priority, place the necessary technical personnel at the disposal of the Collectors and see that the works are carried out."

"I once again plead that it is time that my hon. Friend, the Revenue Minister, makes up his mind to declare as famine areas at least those areas wherein there is acute distress."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I agree with my friend, Sri R. Suryanarayana Rao, that famine relief has not been taken up with sufficient vigour. I find on page 30 of the Supplementary Statement of Expenditure a demand for a sum of Rs. 1,58,300 to meet the increase in outlay on famine relief works. The works carried out with such a small additional outlay cannot provide adequate employment to the people of the famine-affected areas. I see that the Government are not pursuing any definite policy in surmounting famine difficulties. The policy should have been to provide employment for all the able-bodied people in the famine areas and to supply gruel to those who cannot be provided with employment and who are unfit for doing any work. During the recent tour of the Hon. Food Minister of the Central Government in Rayalaseema, an incident was reported in the newspapers. He was inspecting a gruel centre. Hundreds of people were assembled there to receive the gruel. Most of them were infirm. In the queue before the gruel centre there was one able-bodied person. The Hon. Food Minister took him out of the

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queue and said that he need not be supplied with gruel as he was able-bodied and therefore could do some work and earn his food. That person said later : ' I am here not out of my will. I have not got employment. Give me some work and I am prepared to do it. I have been starving for days '. This incident brings out the very wrong policy that is being pursued. Here was an able-bodied man who could not be provided with employment and who was denied gruel because he was able-bodied. Do the Government want him to starve for days and become diseased and decrepit to become eligible for the gruel? Hundreds of people flock to the gruel centres for a spoonful of gruel. What sort of gruel? It was reported in the newspapers that the Hon. Food Minister of the Central Government succeeded in putting a spoonful of gruel in his mouth and was in a quandary not knowing whether to spit it out or swallow it.

" I wish to say a few words on Prohibition. On page 5 of the Supplementary Statement of Expenditure, there is a Demand for an additional amount of Rs. 5,36,900 to meet the cost of muskets, revolvers, handcuffs, etc., supplied to the Prohibition staff. If after five years of Prohibition, the Government still require muskets, revolvers and handcuffs to enforce Prohibition, it is high time that they reconsider the Prohibition policy. Some years ago there was a proposal to appoint propagandists to tell the people about the evils of drink.

" I do not know what happened to that proposal. Apparently it was dropped. It was given up because this Government no longer believed in educating the people or in doing propaganda in favour of Prohibition. What they are relying on is not propaganda but muskets, revolvers and handcuffs. I say that if mass opinion does not favour Prohibition, this sum of Rs. 5 lakhs would not be enough for forcing Prohibition on an unwilling people. Suggestions were made in the other House and here, that a referendum should be taken to find out whether people still supported the Prohibition policy of the Government. I submit that that is not necessary, but a system of local option should be introduced. I believe a similar system is in existence in Scotland where people of a locality can decide whether they will have any liquor shops in that locality or not. If a system of local option is introduced to begin with, people in each town or taluk or district will decide for themselves whether they should have Prohibition or not. Prohibition should then be enforced only in those areas where the people support it.

" There is another item on which I cannot help commenting. On page 16, I see that an additional amount of about Rs. 18 lakhs is demanded for jails. It is stated in the explanatory note that the additional appropriation is required to meet the expenditure occasioned by the increase in the population in jails. On page 17, a sum of Rs. 78 lakhs is being asked as the additional amount required for the police."

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MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Increase in population in jails? "

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SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ Yes, Sir. That is the wording. When they originally budgeted, they did not provide for such an increase in population in jails.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I do not know what is the point. I was in jail myself. There was no increase in the population in jails.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ Obviously the population in the jails has been increased by additions from outside.”

DR. SYED TAJUDDIN :—“ Are both the sexes kept together in jails, Sir? ” (Laughter.)

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ Not to my knowledge.”

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ It is public money that is being spent as a result of increase in the population in jails. A sum of Rs. 78 lakhs is being asked as the additional amount for the police. If I am not mistaken, this is an addition to the Rs. 7 crores which appeared in the original budget. What is the reason for this additional expenditure? The explanatory note is very illuminating. It is stated there that the additional appropriation required is mainly to meet the increased expenditure on travelling allowances and on feeding and transport charges of the Armed Reserves and the staff of the Criminal Investigation Department on account of their frequent movement to disturbed localities. This expenditure of Rs. 78 lakhs is incurred purely as a result of pursuing a repressive policy. The original estimate was Rs. 7 crores. A statement was made by a responsible person that out of this Rs. 7 crores, Rs. 2 crores was meant for meeting a threat of violence from one party. If there is no such threat, two crores of rupees could be immediately saved. In addition to the Rs. 2 crores, we have another Rs. 78 lakhs under the head of ‘extra expenditure for Armed Reserves and Criminal Investigation Department in disturbed localities’ which could be saved. Again another Rs. 18 lakhs for jails can be saved. All these put together make nearly three crores of rupees. If the policy of repression is reversed and a wiser policy more in line with mass opinion is adopted, there will be an immediate saving of Rs. 3 crores. On the other hand more than Rs. 3 crores would have to be spent if the Congress Party again takes up the responsibility of running the Government. Rupees 3 crores are required to put down one party. Hereafter the Congress Party will have to put down a combination of five or six parties. That is, the Congress Government will have to incur at least double this expenditure. If on the other hand, the non-Congress party takes over the administration, there will be an immediate saving to the extent of Rs. 3 crores.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ That party will have to put down only one party! ”

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ I believe I have made it plain and the leaders of the other parties have made it plain that if the Congress again takes upon itself the responsibility of running the

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administration, it will have to put down many other parties, before it puts down the Communists. It will have to put down the Praja party. It will have to put down the"

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Please don't take my remarks seriously. It was just only a joke."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" Sir, I am serious about it. If the Congress takes over the administration, it will have to put down other parties. On the other hand it has been clearly defined in the programme of the United Democratic Front that not a single man will be put in jail without trial if the Front takes charge of the Administration. There will be complete freedom of the press, freedom of movement and of assembly. We went to the extent of declaring that even though charges have been levelled against Ministers—I do not want to mention personalities—no man will be put in jail unless there is a trial and a conviction. Those who have been responsible for the repressive policy of the last many years have put in prison hundreds of people without trial. But if the United Democratic Front comes into power, one of the basic principles which it will follow will be—and it has been already defined—that no man shall be put in prison without trial. Even if charges against persons are made, there will be no detention without trial. There will be freedom to all, and no repressive policy will be followed. If a policy which is more in accord with mass opinion is followed, then there will be no need for huge expenditure on police and jails. There will be no need to provide for Armed Reserves, muskets, handcuffs, and revolvers. On this matter of enforcing Prohibition, the amount which they will have to"

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I do not quite follow the hon. Member. Why does the hon. Member think that all this amount is required only for political purposes? Why should he assume that this amount is required for putting down political parties? "

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—" He wants to bring in Ramo Rajya, Sir."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" It is not in existence, Sir."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" The amount may be required for the ordinary criminals as well."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" Sir, I am relying on the statement of the ex-Finance Minister. He said that if the Communists said now that they would not pursue the policy of violence, there would be a saving of Rs. 2 crores, i.e., the expenditure will be less by Rs. 2 crores. The additional Rs. 78 lakhs now asked for is for meeting expenditure on Armed Reserves and the staff of the Criminal Investigation Department on account of their frequent movement to disturbed localities. I say there will be no necessity for Armed Reserves if there is a Government which pays respect to mass opinion. We have to take realities into consideration. I am not exaggerating, Sir, when I say that South India to-day has gone

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red. We must take note of the fact that mass opinion has turned very much red. Unless the Government changes its policy of persecuting the reds it will have to spend a great deal more than the amount now asked for. The Government will require Rs. 6 crores. I ask, Sir, why should the people's money be wasted in order to perpetuate the minority Congress rule. I suggest in all seriousness that if the party which is more in accord with public opinion is allowed to take charge of the administration, it will be possible to reduce the expenditure on police and jails."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" You are not even dressed red."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" I said that South India has gone red. I do not mean dress. I mean the colour of the political opinion."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I hoped even otherwise you would not go red. Except the hon. Member Mrs. Clubwalla I do not think there is anybody clad red."

* SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" But not in political opinion. I say that there should be a revision of the policy of Prohibition so that there will be less expenditure on that item. If the Front takes charge of the Government there will be a revision of the policy of Prohibition resulting in saving of many crores for public funds. Many crores of rupees will be saved under the head 'Police and Jails'."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" (Addressing Mrs. Clubwalla)—Is the Red Member going to speak? " (Laughter.)

MRS. M. N. CLUBWALLA :—" No, Sir."

(Janab K. T. M. Ahamed Ibrahim rose in his seat.)

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" You have got a red cap."

JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" It has been there for a long time, Sir."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" The only satisfaction is that it is not quite red—as red as it could be."

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" It is brown, Sir."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" It is red in its own way. It has been there for centuries and in spite of complaints from certain uninformed quarters, it will continue to be there in future also.

" Sir, I have been reluctant to speak on the Supplementary Demands just like many other Members of the House, but I think that I should not disappoint you, Sir, when there seems to be a dearth of speakers. We find that some amounts are being required to be spent on trading schemes. In the last budget speech, it was mentioned that there would be no extension of nationalization of industries. Now we find that further amounts are to be spent on the Andhra Paper Mills and other industries. We would like to

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know how far the trading schemes have progressed and whether they give the Government any profits or they are running at a loss. We will be able to know all this if certain details are given to us regarding the working of the industries which are run by the Government. It would be useful to the country and to Members of this House to know how far nationalization of industries has succeeded in our State.

“ My hon. Friends spoke about the famine relief measures taken by the Government. I have been suggesting that the Government should not wait until Famine actually occurs in areas. Prevention is better than cure, and I would suggest that the Government should anticipate these famines and take effective steps to prevent them. I would suggest that if the Famine Code does not provide for the utilization of funds for the purpose of preventing famine, the Government must take some other steps to prevent famine instead of waiting for famine to be declared by them in the right royal manner and thereby aggravating the sufferings of the people. That is the only thing I want to suggest with regard to famine relief.

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“ Then, Sir, I come to the subject of elections. It is stated on page 13 of the supplementary statement of expenditure that the expenditure on elections comes to about Rs. 90 lakhs. Sir, we have gone through the elections. I would suggest to the Government to have some introspection about what has happened in the elections. In the electoral rolls that have been prepared we find many mistakes. The initials of voters have been omitted. Even when we give our names correctly along with initials they are not entered properly in the electoral rolls. The authorities concerned refuse to enter initials. Consequently, when nomination papers are presented, we are troubled very much about the actual identification of the voters and the candidates. I know cases in which voters have been asked to go away at the time of polling because the age entered in the electoral rolls is different from the actual age by a few years. In one instance, the age of a man was entered as 45 in the electoral rolls and the age stated by him was 47. On that ground, the Assistant Presiding Officer said that he was not entitled to vote.

“ Much has been talked about the steel ballot boxes. I do not know how these boxes are incapable of being tampered with. Each polling agent has to sign the paper seal and at the time of opening the box it is shown to the candidate or his agent. Now, a candidate for the Assembly has about 750 agents. Can he or his counting agent identify the signatures of all these 750 polling agents? In order to see that a particular box has not been tampered with he has to do this feat. Similarly, the candidate for the House of the People or his agent has to identify about 3,000 signatures. Is it possible to identify all these signatures and say which is genuine and which is not genuine? It is clear therefore that these steel ballot boxes are not such as could not be tampered with. In practice,

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they cause very great hardship to the candidates. The system that has been adopted is cumbersome and does not meet the requirements.

“About actual polling, I know cases in which polling did not commence even at 8 o'clock though the time fixed for the commencement of polling was 7 o'clock. In some cases even the Presiding Officer did not know the 'exit' and the 'entrance' for the voters. There were cases where the polling agents had to show them those places. This only indicates that the polling personnel had not gone to the polling centre and arranged things earlier. In many cases voters were not able to record their votes without much waiting. I know cases where gosha women who went to the polling station with infants in their arms as early as 5 a.m. had to wait till 1 p.m. to record their votes. That was the manner in which voting took place with an expenditure of nearly Rs. 90 lakhs. Sri Gopala Reddi who was the Minister in charge of Elections has admitted that there are many loopholes. I hope that the Election Commission will take note of all these defects and that when the next elections come, these things will not be repeated. The next elections may come sooner than we expect. Of course, my Friend opposite will be very much terrified to face another election but he has to face it because the elections will come soon again. Not that I wish for it, but in the ordinary course of things elections are bound to come again very soon at least in our State.

“Coming to 'return of election expenses', I do not know how many persons give a correct statement of the actual election expenses incurred by them. The other day Sri Jawaharlal Nehru said that the Congress spent Rs. 30 lakhs on the elections. I would like to know whether that amount has been properly apportioned among the various Congress candidates and included in their returns of election expenses. Under the rules, all the amounts spent by any Association or by anybody on behalf of a candidate have to be included in the return.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“Not by the Party.”

JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“That I do not know, Sir.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“If the hon. Member does not know, he must learn.”

JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“Under the rules, it is required . . .”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“But they do not apply to a Party.”

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“With regard to the electoral rolls of the Council, I would like to point out that the names of many graduates have been omitted from the Graduates' Constituencies. You may remember I once suggested that the lists of the registered graduates of our Universities might be taken as the

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basis for the preparation of the electoral rolls for the Graduates' Constituencies. Now I find that even many graduates registered in the Universities have been omitted from the list of voters for the Graduates' Constituencies of the Legislative Council. If only the authorities concerned had acted on the above suggestion, these things would not have occurred.

"I do not know whether I will be in order in speaking about the conduct of the elections; but when I spoke about it the other day I could not say a few things more because I had no time. I think I may mention the remaining things now. The minorities of our State have suffered heavily in the elections, with the result that even leaders of other minority communities who were against our suggestions have come round and now feel that they were mistaken in not having supported us both in the Constituent Assembly and in this House in our attempts to devise proper methods for ensuring representation of minorities in the Legislatures of the States as well as in the House of the People. If you scan the lists of successful candidates, you will find, except one Member here and one Member there, the minorities go almost unrepresented both in the local Legislatures as well as in the House of the People.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" So, does the hon. Member want amendments to be made to the Constitution? "

JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" Yes, Sir."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" But we cannot do it here."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" Of course. I am just elucidating the results of our spending Rs. 90 lakhs and am making my suggestion to the Parliament through this House. Elections are intended to give representation to the people in the Legislatures. I am attempting to prove that that object of elections has not been achieved in spite of our expenses. I think I am in order in trying to elucidate that."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I have lost consciousness of what is in order or not in order." (Laughter.)

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" Sir, if you will go through the list of successful candidates, you will find that the minorities go unrepresented. Therefore I submit, Sir, that the amount has not been spent in the manner in which it should have been spent. The method of election should have been such as to be effective in giving representation to the minorities. We suggested when the matter was discussed both here and in the Constituent Assembly that the best thing would be to continue the existing method of representation. That was rejected."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" How could we do it here? It should have been done in the Constituent Assembly."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" At that time we suggested in this House—and we had the support of several

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Members belonging to other communities also—that the next best thing would be the system of multi-member constituencies with cumulative voting. There was more than one debate and on every occasion we repeated the suggestion.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I want to make one thing clear. The authority to finally decide this matter is the Parliament. Whether it is a question of single-member constituency or multi-member constituency, it is the Parliament that can do it.”

JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“ There are double-member constituencies in Uttar Pradesh. I am making my representation to the Parliament through this House as we did on the previous occasions.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I know. But this has to be provided by the Parliament.”

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“ Yes, Sir. That is why I am making these suggestions. I know the powers of the State have been curtailed. Time and again we repeated the suggestion and moved amendments to the Constitution to secure for the State the necessary powers. Ultimately the Constitution denuded the States of even the powers that the Provinces had under the Government of India Act, 1935. And only after the whole thing had become law, our ex-Ministers began to cry, ‘ All our sources of revenue have been taken away by the Centre and we are not able to do this or that.’ We said, ‘ Did we not warn you against that? You were keeping mum because you had been asked by your Party not to speak on the subject and our amendments were simply defeated by your majority.’ What is happening now? At every stage what we said then is happening. We moved amendment after amendment to secure for the State sufficient powers, but in vain. The States have no power to permit people even to polish rice. In the streets of Madras these *pariahs*, street dwellers, will not cook the rice that is supplied to them by the rationing shop without polishing it.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ Polishing the rice or polishing off the rice? ” (Laughter.)

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“ I am speaking a foreign tongue, Sir, and I do not claim to speak King’s English always. I am sure, Sir, that you and my colleagues have understood what I meant by that word.”

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THE HON. SRI B. PARAMESWARAN :—“ It is degrading to use the term ‘ *pariah* ’.”

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“ I am sorry if it is degrading. But the point is that that term is in daily use. Perhaps the Hon. Minister would prefer the term ‘ *Harijan* ’. There are several sub-castes among Harijans. If the different sub-castes among them are clearly specified it would have been much

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better. That has not been done. So what can I do? We will not be able to know to which particular sub-caste they belong if I use the word 'Harijan'. That is the main difficulty under which we are labouring.

"Coming to the point, I wish to tell the House that the results of the recent elections have proved that the present method of elections will not secure proper representation to the minorities in the State. We have repeatedly attempted to make the Government realise that the method that they have prescribed will not satisfy the minorities and will not do them justice. Now at least, let the Government or the Parliament devise some method by which these minorities can get proper representation in the Legislature. When I say so I am branded as a communalist. Nobody has yet defined what communalism is. If by 'communalism' they mean rancour, animosity and hatred between one community and another, I am not a communalist. If on the other hand, by 'communalism' they mean the desire and attempt to safeguard the right of the minorities especially those granted to them by the Constitution, then I am glad to own that I am a communalist. I am not ashamed of it. These elections have shown who are communalists and who are not. No less a person than the President of the Indian National Congress said at Udaipur in December or January last that the Congress Hindus and the Congress Sikhs were reluctant to vote for the Muslim Congress candidate because he was a Muslim. On this account, he condemned the Congress Hindus and Congress Sikhs. Again, Sri Gopala Reddi, while analysing the reasons for his defeat in the recent elections said that he was defeated in the election as the Kammas joined together and voted against him, a Reddi, because in a previous Congress election the Reddis joined together and defeated a Kamma. Thus, there is not only communalism among Congressmen but also sub-communalism, not only casteism but also sub-casteism. Now, let us look at the other side of the picture. So far as Muslims are concerned, they have scrupulously obeyed the mandate of their organization and have voted for Ayyangars, Ayyars, Chettis, Naidus and Harijans—I will not use the term '*pariah*'—etc., without any distinction of caste or creed. Whoever was given the support of the Muslim League was supported by the Muslims as a whole irrespective of caste, creed or community."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"Provided he was not a Muslim."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—"I am sorry you have not followed the results of the election, Sir. In a constituency where there was a good proportion of Muslims, the Congress set up a Muslim as their candidate. But even many of his own relatives did not vote for him and he was defeated. On the other hand, the Leader of the Justice Party, who is a Hindu, has been elected. I can quote other similar instances also. These results show we are not communal-minded in the sense you understand the term. We are anxious that our representatives should secure to us our rights, especially those that are guaranteed to us under the Constitution."

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For this purpose it is necessary to have our own representatives and our own separate organization. Then only our representatives in the Legislature will be able to place before the Government and the country our actual needs, our requirements, our grievances and hardships. Who else will be in a position to know our grievances and difficulties? Only a true representative of our organization will be able to do that. That is why we desire a separate organization to function for the legitimate purpose of safeguarding our rights and for the implementation of the fundamental rights guaranteed to us under the Constitution. In the recent elections, we have proved to the hilt that we are not communal."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" According to you, all those whom you have supported have succeeded. Then what is your complaint? What is the point you want to make? "

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" I am just explaining the position. I am not claiming that all those whom we supported have succeeded. The Chair cannot anticipate me. Further I cannot put it in a word or two. Again I have to be cautious with regard to language."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Does not the hon. Member think that he is overtaxing my indulgence? " (Laughter.)

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" I think I am not. This is a lame duck session and I am not able to speak as I would ordinarily like to."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" One has to be careful not to overtax a lame duck. Otherwise it may collapse." (Laughter.)

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" I said that the session is a lame duck session. I am not lame. I think I can put forth my arguments clearly."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Anyway, let the hon. Member go to the other points."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" I do not like to dwell on the other points. I only wish to state that in the recent elections we have shown that the Muslims are not communal. Our organization selected candidates from all communities, from all castes, from all sub-castes and the Muslim voters cast their votes in favour of the candidates selected by our organization."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Irrespective of caste or creed, I suppose? "

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" Yes, Sir. The vast majority of the Muslim voters cast their votes only in favour of the candidates supported by the League. There is no doubt about it. This shows, firstly that they are united under the banner of the Muslim League and secondly that they are not communal. They did not worry themselves to see whether a particular candidate

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belonged to this community or that or this sub-caste or that. They simply voted in favour of the candidates who were supported by their organization and this they did most faithfully."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" What I do not understand is, why candidates have not been put up by your organization for the various constituencies."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" We did put up candidates in some of the constituencies. Wherever we were in a substantial majority, we did succeed also."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Then it comes to this. You put up candidates wherever you were communally strong." (Laughter.)

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" No Sir. We did set up candidates in other constituencies also. I stood in a constituency where the Muslims were only 10 per cent of the population. The position is this. Our candidates succeeded only in constituencies where there was a substantial proportion of Muslim votes. The other point is Muslims voted for all candidates selected by the Muslim League irrespective of caste or creed. But the Congress Hindus were reluctant to vote for a Congress candidate if he was a Muslim. This clearly proves beyond a shadow of doubt that it is only the Congress Hindus who are communal-minded and not the Muslim League."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I am prepared to concede that I am communal minded and you are not. But . . ."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" Sir, I do not say that you are communal-minded. You do not belong to any party. You are above all parties, being the Chairman."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I mean to say that the Hindus are communal-minded and you are not. But I do not understand why then you should want communal electorates."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—" I do not say, Sir, that the Hindus are communal-minded. I only say that the Congress Hindus are communal-minded. Many Hindus have voted for me, i.e., Hindus who are not in the Congress. I do not stand for communalism. I have clearly explained to the House that I am not for the encouragement of hatred between one community and another. My organization stands for the establishment and maintenance of cordiality and amity among the various communities of the land. If by 'communalism' you mean the safeguarding of the rights and privileges of minorities, then I am a communalist and shall continue to be so and I am not ashamed of it. Now, we find that Muslim candidates were able to succeed only in constituencies where the Muslims formed a majority. They got only very small percentages of Hindu votes in other constituencies whether they stood as independents or on the Muslim League ticket, and none of them succeeded. Sri Gopala Reddi himself has

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said that there was sub-communalism among Congress men and that Kammass united together to defeat him, a Reddi, and *vice versa*. Again, the late Sri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I think it is better for the hon. Member to leave Reddis and Naidus alone to fight among themselves and refer to some other points.” (Laughter.)

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“ What is the use of my referring to any other subject, Sir, especially when most of us are going out? I am only illustrating my point. The late Sri Ramalingam Chettiar said while referring to the selection of Congress candidates that it would have been proper if a Naidu was set up from Coimbatore instead of a Chetti. If any one were to scan the list of candidates selected by the Congress and also the list of candidates selected as well as supported by the Muslim League, he will surely find out which was communal and which was not. I do not want to say anything further about this, Sir.”

* JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, most of us do not seem to be serious to-day including your good-self. (Laughter.) There was much talk about famine, Prohibition and representation to minorities. I thought that some of the speeches, if they were not red, were perhaps red-rags.

“ With regard to famine, I want to refer to one or two points. These gruel centres will be of no use. Because, they make people live on beggary. Something concrete should be done to fight famine. It is really strange that after the advent of independence we should so often be hearing of famines. We hope that the Government will devise means to avoid famines hereafter. If at all these gruel centres are to continue, they must continue for ever for those who are not able-bodied and those who are not able to work. These should exist not only during the time of famine, but also in normal times to help disabled persons. Besides these people, old people must also be protected by the State. Therefore there is no use of thinking of gruel centres only at the time of famine. I should like to appeal to the Hon. Minister for Food, who is not here now, to bestow more thought and attention on the question of increasing the production of foodgrains. Only recently, there has been an increase in the rice content of the rations by one ounce in the statutorily rationed areas, but this increase has not been given in other parts of the State where statutory rationing is not in force. People feel that to a great extent the unpopularity of the Congress Ministry was due to the fact that they had bestowed their attention on cities and not on rural parts. People are now clamouring for an increase in the rations supplied through relief shops. I also ask, ‘ Why not extend the concession to the rural people also? ’ If the Government deration foodstuffs, then it is something different. But when that is not the case, when there is an increase in the rations in statutorily rationed area, it is but right that the relief shops also should be enabled to supply more to the rural population.

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"As regards sugar, it is reported in the Press, that Mr. Munshi had said that there was no question of derationing sugar. The Government blow hot and cold in one breath when they say that the price of sugar in one particular area will be so much and in another something higher. Sir, sugar is sold at different prices at different places. Either rationing must be abolished or prices must be fixed uniformly. Unless the Government control prices there is no use of thinking of affording relief to the people.

"About elections, Sir, I have to say a word. The Government have spent large sums of money on elections. My own feeling is that so much money was not required. As a matter of fact, this large expenditure has not helped anybody. Whatever facilities there were in the pre-Independence bureaucratic days have been taken away. For instance, Sir, you might have been a candidate for election previous to the last one and this time also you stood as a candidate for election. I have also got experience of elections. You know, Sir, that with regard to submitting of accounts relating to election expenses, we have to go to a magistrate, not only go to him and get his signature but have his seal also affixed on the returns. Formerly, there was no such thing. There was no question of stamps either. Printed copies of returns used to be supplied free of cost. But this Government has become a baniya Government demanding quarter-anna, two annas, four annas and six annas for supplying this thing and that. I feel, Sir, that in a democracy, elections must be made as easy and cheap as possible. There is no need even for a candidate to get himself nominated and his nomination seconded by somebody. If a person says simply, 'I stand as a candidate', what is the necessity for asking him to get himself nominated and his nomination seconded?"

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"But he has to see that at least two people are there to support him." (Laughter.)

* JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—"A person who nominates or seconds has no obligation to vote for the particular candidate. I submit that when Government are spending so much money on elections, they should see that all facilities are afforded to the candidates. The Returning Officers should not be made sat-raps. They are now people on whom there is no control. If a Returning Officer rejects a nomination, there is no such thing as relief to the candidate. The position is so very anomalous that even the Supreme Court has said that it cannot deal with rejected nominations until after the Election Tribunal has heard the case and given its decision. These are matters which the Government have to take into consideration. We have to make these representations only in the Legislature whether it is the Congress that is in power or any other party, and therefore I bring this matter to the notice of the House.

"Coming to representation of minorities, I have already said on a previous occasion under what handicaps the minorities suffered in the last elections. I do not know whether I am entitled to represent this matter to this House, for the whole question of formation

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of Ministry is in the balance. All the same, I represent to this House—because here again it is the Legislature that has to take up the issue—that unless there is reservation of seats for minorities, there is no chance of their entering the Legislature. Of course, here and there one or two people from among the minority communities might have entered the Legislature. But there is no chance of their getting representation in proportion to their population, leaving alone the political importance of the communities. As I said the other day, there is the writing on the wall which we must see. There is no use in rubbing it out. It will appear and reappear. It will appear in bold type. We are in different circumstances today. We must understand the situation correctly. Some of my hon. Friends who had been talking of communal organizations did not stand on the ticket of that organization to which they belonged. They stood as independent candidates and only some stood on the Muslim League ticket”

JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“ On a point of personal explanation, Sir, I want to tell the hon Member”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I am sure the House is not interested in knowing on what ticket you stood.” (Laughter.)

JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“ Now that a reference has been made to the subject and an aspersion has been cast upon me, I am entitled to explain my position.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ If your contention is that you are entitled to explain yourself, I cannot allow you to speak. But if you want my indulgence I am prepared to allow you.” (Laughter.)

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“ Sir, we put up certain candidates on the League ticket and in certain cases we allowed our own men to stand as Independents with our support. They also practically stood on the League ticket because they had our support. Further we wanted not to give the least room for the argument that because we were standing on the League ticket voters of other communities did not vote for us. I polled as many as 92,000 votes and was defeated by a margin of a couple of thousands. But this is an exceptional case. We desired to give to the people an opportunity to select the best and so some of us did not stand on the League ticket. Still we did not get their votes.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ That is exactly what Mr. Farookhi says. You did not stand on the League ticket.”

* JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—“ My hon. Friend does not realize that his own argument goes against him. I feel, Sir, personally, that any organization has got a right to select candidates and make them stand for an election. But we should not deceive the electorate. On the one hand we say that we belong to a particular political party. On the other hand, we turn our

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face and say that we are Independents. Sir, you were saying—I do not know whether you were saying it seriously or by way of humour—that the Muslim Leaguers supported all except the Muslims.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ It was quite appropriate.”

* JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—“ Quite appropriate and right. Whatever may be the attitude of communities or parties, my submission to the Government is, ‘ Leave aside these parties and organizations; they will live or they will disappear; but look after the interests of particular classes of people, particular communities which require and are entitled to representation in the Legislature.’ This the Government have failed to do. That is my grievance and I appeal to the powers that be—whether it is the Congress or any other party—through this House that the results of the elections have to be thoroughly examined and analysed and if necessary the Constitution has to be amended in order to give proper representation to minorities whether they are Muslims or Christians or whoever they may be.

“ Sir, I want to say something about the Prohibition policy of the Government. Large sums of money have been spent on Prohibition and as I have said on one thousand and one platforms I am a confirmed believer in Prohibition. My religion prohibits me from taking liquor. Not only that”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ But you are speaking about it.”
(Laughter.)

* JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—“ It is a sin to allow a drop of liquor to fall on my clothes. I cannot then offer prayer. I must wash my clothes and then only offer prayer.”

DR. SYED TAJUDDIN :—“ It is a crime and not a sin.”

* JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—“ It is more than a crime. I ask the Government in all seriousness whether they are really anxious to have Prohibition. I have always felt that this Prohibition is a propaganda stunt and that the Government are not serious about it. They have wasted several crores of rupees of the tax-payer and they do not desist from doing it. They want to spend more. By spending more and more without realizing any results, they are doing more harm to the State. My own feeling is, Sir, that in matters like Prohibition, the Government should create a sort of moral force in favour of Prohibition. That the Government have not done. If the Government spend money on staff to teach the people, that intoxicants will injure their health, will injure the interests of their families, then I can understand that the Government are serious about Prohibition. You have not done that. You have simply introduced Prohibition flouting even the advice—the weighty advice—of the Prime Minister of India who is to-day the Congress President also. The policy of Prohibition has not been uniform so far as the Congress is concerned throughout the country. By spending more and more

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money on the present lines, the Government will be creating more and more industries—home industries, village industries and the like—of illicit distillation. Sir, I do not want to repeat *in extenso* what I said the other day about what I saw during my election campaign in every home which I visited for votes. In every house there is illicit distillation going on and not only men and women but children too have become addicted to drink. What are you going to give them; hand-cuffs, revolvers or muskets? I am sure if you go there unarmed all these will be used against you. That is the thing that has to be taken into consideration. I say Sir, in all seriousness, if the Government want to enforce this Prohibition successfully they must adopt other methods than those that they want to adopt. I would request Government not to waste public money on Prohibition if they cannot enforce it properly.

"Then, Sir, I heard with interest the speech of my hon. Friend, Sri Adityan. I may tell the Government that there are parties and there will be parties and in a democratic State parties must exist. You cannot think of having only a single party in a democratic State. If there is only one party it will become a totalitarian Government. Parties there are certainly and when these parties come into the Legislature all the reddish colour and other colours which they might have assumed some time back, all that must be shed."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"It has vanished from this House also."

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* JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—"Sir, my submission is that it will vanish also from the country. Whatever party forms the Government, let that party work for the good of the country and let the interest of the common man be kept at heart."

* SRI MOTHEY NARAYANA RAO :—"అధ్యక్షా, ఈ సభలో ఉన్నటువంటి మహమ్మదీయ సభ్యులు ఇద్దరు. . ."

JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—"Sir, This being the last occasion, we shall be glad if the Hon'ble Member speaks in English so that we can understand his speech."

* SRI MOTHEY NARAYANA RAO :—"ఈ విషయమై మున్ననే మనవి చేశాను. భాషాప్రయుక్త రాష్ట్రాలు అత్యవసరమని, దానికి తోడ్పడేందుకు పార్టీలైనా భాషలో మాట్లాడవలసివుంటుందని చెప్పాను. భాషాప్రయుక్త రాష్ట్రాలైనా విషయం గురించి ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇంకా అనవసరంగా ఆలస్యం చేస్తున్నారు. అవి విర్వచేతవరకు ఈ అస్వభావిక పరిస్థితి తొలగదు. ఇంకా ఈ సభలో కొంత నయము. ఇక్కడ అధ్యక్షులకు తెలుగు తెలుసును. కనుక తెలుగులో మాట్లాడినా పరవాలేదు. అంత చిక్కులేదు. కాని, అనెంబ్లీలో అధ్యక్షులకు తెలుగు తెలియదు. కనుక అక్కడ తెలుగులో మాట్లాడివాళ్ళకు చాలా చిక్కుగా వుంటుంది. కనుక ఈ చిక్కులన్నీ పోవాలంటే భాషాప్రయుక్త రాష్ట్రాలు పెంటనే విర్వచాలి. వీటి నిర్మాణవిషయమై, ఇదివరకే, ఎప్పుడో మన పెద్దలు, కాంగ్రెస్ వారుకూడా అంగీకరించారు. కాని ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఎందుకో అనవసరంగా, ఇంకా ఆలస్యం చేస్తున్నారు."

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MR. CHAIRMAN:—“అది సరేగాని, ఇబ్రహీంగారు వారికి తెలిసేటట్లు ఇంగ్లీషులో మాట్లాడమని కోరుతున్నార. కనుక వారి కోరిక ప్రకారము మాట్లాడవలసి ఇంగ్లీషులో మాట్లాడవచ్చును.”

*** SRI MOTHEY NARAYANA RAO:**—“అయిన ఇంగ్లీషులో మాట్లాడమని కోరవచ్చును. కాని నాకా పంకల్పములేదు. ఇద్దరు మహమ్మదీయ సభ్యులలో ఘరానా గారికి తెలుగు అర్థం అవుతుందని నాకు బాగా తెలుసు. ఇబ్రహీంగారికూడా తెలుగు తెలుసుననుకొంటాను.”

MR. CHAIRMAN:—“పోసీలేండి మీ యిష్టము.”

*** SRI MOTHEY NARAYANA RAO:**—“ఇప్పుడు మాట్లాడిన మహమ్మదీయ సభ్యులిద్దరు ఇప్పుడు బడిగిన ఎన్నే కలలో వారికి ఎక్కువ స్థానాలు లభించలేదని, దీనికి కారణము వారికి ప్రత్యేక స్థానాలు ఏర్పరచనందువల్ల నేనని, కనుక వారికోసము అసగా మహమ్మదీయులకు ప్రత్యేక స్థానాలు ఏర్పాటుచేసిన బాగుంటుందని చెబుతున్నారు. కాని వీరి ఆగ్రహాయము సమంజసము కాదని చెప్పకుండా భ్రంశడము బాగాలేదనే ఉద్దేశంతో నేను మాట్లాడ సంకల్పించుకొన్నాను. ఎందుచేతనంటే, మన దేశంలో అనేక మతాలున్నాయి, మరియు అనేక మైనారిటీలు కులాలుకూడా ఉన్నాయి. అనేక మైనారిటీలు మతాలవారికి, కులాలవారికి అందరికీ ప్రత్యేక స్థానాలు ఇవ్వాలంటే ఎంత మాత్రము సాధ్యముకాదు. మతాలు అంత ఎక్కువగా లేకపోయినప్పటికీ, కులాలు ఎక్కువగావున్నాయి. హిందువులలో అందరికీ తెలిసినట్టుగా అనేక కులాలు, అనేక వర్గాలు వున్నాయి. వీరందరికీకూడా ప్రత్యేక స్థానాలు ఇవ్వాలంటే, ఎంతమాత్రము సాధ్యముకానే కాదు. ఈ కులాలే కాకుండా, ఇంకా వెనుకబడిన జాతులు అనేక మున్నాయి. కనుక వీరికందరికీ, స్థానాలు ఇవ్వడమనేది సాధ్యమయ్యే పనికాదు. అయితే, మేము పెద్దమతాలవారము. మేము ఎక్కువమంది ఉన్నాము. కనుక మాకు ప్రత్యేక స్థానాలు ఇవ్వాలని మన మహమ్మదీయ సభ్యులు చెప్పవచ్చును. అయితే, వీరికి ఇవ్వాలంటే, ఇంకా ఇతర కులాలవారు, వెనుకబడిన జాతులవారుకూడా అనేకమంది ఉన్నారు. వీరందరికీ ఇవ్వవలసి యుండుననికూడా వారు గమనించవలెను. కనుక అది సాధ్యమయ్యే పనికాదు.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—“Sir, there is no quorum in the house.”

• (Then the bell was rung. Some more hon. Members entered the House and there was quorum.)

MR. CHAIRMAN:—“మీరు త్వరగా ముగించండి. లేకుంటే మళ్లీ కోరం ఉండదు.”

*** SRI MOTHEY NARAYANA RAO:**—“అందుచేత, వివిధ మతాలకు, కులాలకు, ప్రత్యేకంగా స్థానాలివ్వడ మనేది చాలా అసంభవమనుకొంటాను. అంతే కాకుండా, ఎవరైతే వ్యతిరేకంగా, యోగ్యతార్హతలు గలిగి ఎన్నుకోబడవలెనంటే, వారు నిజంగా ప్రజాసేవచేసి, ప్రజలలో మెలగి, ప్రజలయొక్క అభిమానాన్ని మెప్పును చూరగొని ఎన్నికయ్యేందుకు ప్రయత్నించాలి గాని, మేము ప్రత్యేక మతాల వారము, మాకు ప్రత్యేక స్థానాలుండాలి అని మతాల, కులాలపద్ధతిమీద ఎన్నిక అయ్యేందుకు ప్రయత్నించడం చాలా పొరబాటు. అందుకనే మహమ్మదీయ సభ్యులు ఇప్పుడు ఎన్నికలలో ఎన్నుకోబడలేదంటే, వారు ఇంకా ఇతర కులాలవారితో విక

[Sri Mothey Narayana Rao] [24th March 1952]

మధ్యస్థులకి, వారితో కలిసిమెలిసి వారినే చీయకుండుటయే కారణమని చెబుతున్నాను. కనుక మేము మహమ్మదీయులను, వారు హిందువులు అనే బేధాభిప్రాయాలు వదిలిపెట్టి మరమంతా భారతదేశపు బిడ్డలను, అందరు సరిసమానమని చెప్పి అన్ని వర్గాల ప్రజలకు సమానంగా నేపచేసి, వారి మన్ననను పొంది, తద్వారా వారిటును సంపాదించి ఎన్నిక కావాలనే ఉద్దేశిని అవలంబిస్తే తప్పకుండా వచ్చే ఎన్నికలలో మహమ్మదీయ సభ్యులు ఎన్నికవడానికి అవకాశముంటుంది. ఇప్పుడు జరిగిన ఎన్నికలలోకూడా కులాలనుబట్టి, మతాలనుబట్టి అయినా మతాభిమానంతో, మతాభిమానంతో కొంతవరకు ఎన్నికలు జరిగినప్పటికీ, ఇది చాలా తక్కువ సంఖ్యగానే ఉంటుంది, ఎక్కువగా విమీకనపడదు. కనుక అందరు కుల, మత వర్గరహితంగా ప్రజానేపచేసి ప్రజల అభిమానాన్ని, మెప్పునుపొంది తద్వారా వారిటును సంపాదించి ఎన్నిక అవడమే సరియైన పద్ధతి గాని, మతాలనుబట్టి ప్రత్యేకస్థానాలుండవలసిన అవసరం సమంజసము కాదని నాయొక్క అభిప్రాయము.

“తరువాత రాయలసీమ కరువు విషయం గురించి మాట్లాడుతూ, అక్కడ ప్రజలకు ఆహారం లేనందువలన, అక్కడక్కడ జావ సత్తాలు నిర్మించబడినాయని మంత్రిగారు చెప్పారు. ఇది చాలా శోచనీయమైనటువంటి విషయం. సశ్యావ్యవసాయము వంటి మన భారతదేశంలో కరువు నివారణార్థమై జావ సత్తాలు పెట్టడమంటే చాలా విచారకరమైన విషయం. ఈ జావ సత్తాలవల్ల ప్రజలు వివిధంగా వారి ఆరోగ్యాన్ని, ప్రాణాలను కాపాడుకోగలరో అర్థం కావడంలేదు. ప్రభుత్వంవారు, నిజంగా ఆ ప్రజల ప్రాణాలను, కాపాడాలంటే, వెంటనే అన్న సత్తాలు విస్తృతము చేయవలసియుంటుంది. లేకపోతే అనేకమంది ఆకలిచాధతో, వివిధ రోగాలకు గురి అయి, త్వరలో ప్రాణాలు కోల్పోవలసి యుంటుంది. ప్రజలు ఆహారములేకుండా వనిపోవడమంటే, ఏ ప్రభుత్వానికైనా చూచి సహించవలసిన విషయంకాదు. ఆహారము లేనిచోట్ల సరియైన ఆహారాన్ని వ్వవం ప్రభుత్వముయొక్క ముఖ్యమైన బాధ్యత అని గమనించాలి. భారత ఖామి పూర్వంనుంచి, అనాదిసిద్ధంగా, అన్నదానానికి అన్న సత్తాలకు ప్రఖ్యాతి వేంది నటువంటి దేశం. కనుక ప్రజల ఆరోగ్యంగాను, జీవనంగాను ఉండాలంటే ప్రజలకు అన్న సత్తాలను వెంటనే విస్తృతముచేయవలెను. అంతేకాకుండా, టైము ప్రాంతాల్లో ప్రజలను తగిన వృత్తిగూడ కల్పించి ఆ పనికి ప్రత్యామ్నాయంగా అన్న సత్తాలుగూడా విస్తృతముచేస్తే బాగుంటుందని నా అభిప్రాయము. అందుచేత, అహనువ్యమైనటువంటి ప్రస్తుతము విస్తృతముచేసిన జావ సత్తాలను మానివేసి, సశ్యావ్యవసాయమువంటి మన భారతదేశంలో ప్రజలందరు ఆరోగ్యవంతులుగా ఉండేటందుకు వీలుగా అన్న సత్తాలను వెంటనే విస్తృతము చేయవలసిన నేను ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతున్నాను. రాయల సీమ క్షామం విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వంవారు వెంటనే ఎక్కువ శ్రద్ధవహించవలసిందని కూడా కోరుతున్నాను. దీనికై ఎంత డబ్బెైనా ఖర్చుచేయుటకు ప్రభుత్వం సిద్ధంగా ఉన్నారని, సత్వర చర్యలు తీసుకొంటారని, మంత్రిగారు చెప్పటం చాలా సంతోషకరం. కాని మామూలుగా ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఉత్తర్యులుచేస్తూ ఉంటారేగాని వాటికి కార్యరూపములో పెట్టుటకు చాలా అలస్యమౌతుంటుంది. కనుక కేవలం ఉత్తర్యులు చేయడం మాత్రంతోనే సంతృప్తి పడకుండా వాటిని వెంటనే అమలు జరిపే విధానాన్ని అమలించి ప్రజలను కాపాడవలసిందని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ముఖ్యంగా, ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ జావ సత్తాలను తీసివేసి వీటినిబదులుగా అన్నా తురులైనటువంటి టైము పీడిత ప్రజలకు వారి ఆరోగ్యాన్ని జీవనాన్ని ఎంచి, శుభిమైన ఆహారాన్ని చేరుట వంటి అన్న సత్తాలను విస్తృతముచేసి వారికి కావలసిన వృత్తిగూడా వెంటనే కల్పించవలసిందని నేను కోరుతున్నాను.”

24th March 1952]

* THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, the hon. Member who started the discussion unfortunately is not here now. Evidently, he has gone out on some other work. He reiterated what he said some time back on the floor of the House that it is necessary to declare the areas now affected as famine areas, particularly those areas where works are now going on, on a large scale. I should like to tell the House that it is not as though the Government have not considered that aspect of the matter. The Government sincerely feel that it would be of greater help to the people of that area if technically it was not declared a famine area. Putting it the other way about, the Government felt that there was no special advantage gained in declaring that area as a famine area and all facilities that could be given without declaring that area a famine area have been provided; this would cost the Government less and would be more beneficial to the people. As a matter of fact, after the last famine operations took place in the Ceded districts, the officer in charge sent up a report and I went through it very carefully. I have also asked the new Commissioner to go through that report carefully. After his return from tour, I propose to take up with him the question of putting up shelter for workers who go to those work-spots, provision of drinking-water at the work-spot, the question of giving gratuitous relief to the decrepit as was done during the last famine operations and then the question of stepping up the value and the quality of the food, the gruel that is supplied. These are all matters on which decisions will be taken very early. But the hon. Member was insistent that the Government should unequivocally and immediately declare that area as a famine area and apply all the provisions of the Famine Code. Sir, I should like to assure the House that I will again examine the question in the light of the criticisms levelled and also the experience gained. If it is going to be of advantage to the people of that area, I am sure the Government will not hesitate to apply to provisions of the Famine Code. If the Government have not done so up till now, it is not with a view to withhold help from those that deserve help but only with a view to see that the rigidity of the Famine Code is not brought into play and that with the money we spend more useful work is done and people get better wages. Last time also, the hon. Member referred to it and drew my attention to the revised Famine Code. I have examined the suggestion. Even under the revised procedure laid down in the Famine Code, if market rates are taken into consideration for calculating the payment of wages, it will not fetch the worker as much as it is now fetching him. To-day in areas where relief operations are conducted, workers get wages ranging from Re. 1 to Rs. 1-8-0 and sometimes even up to Rs. 2. If the provisions of the Famine Code were to be applied and the market rates taken into consideration to determine the payment of wages to these workers, they will only get between 9 and 10 annas. That is the reason why the provisions of the revised Famine Code were not applied. It is not as though the Government are trying to save money or withhold relief. There is no such thing at all.”

[24th March 1952]

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—" Is it not possible to revise the Code so that they could be paid more? "

* THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—" That is a question that will take some time. As hon. Members know, to revise the Code, a Government order must be issued, somebody must study and go into the question and by the time the Code is revised famine will have disappeared. That is why, with the practical experience gained last time, a certain method of relief has been evolved and as I said, it was felt that this is the better method. Anyway, I would like to assure this House that anything that would help the people without waste of time and effort will be taken up to afford relief to the deserving. That is the desire of the Government. That is how we are working at it and that is the way we wish to tackle the problem.

4-30
P.m

" Sir, the hon. Member, Mr. Suryanarayana Rao, pointed out that the outturn of work in the expansion programme is much more and it is very hard for the man who is already suffering due to lack of sufficient quantity of food to turn out that much of work as would enable him to earn a normal wage and still if he is engaged in famine relief work, his outturn will be comparatively less. It is true. I do not deny it. I know it from personal experience. As Mr. Rao was repeatedly saying, he and I have had the privilege or the opportunity, if I may say so, of working together as non-officials for several years in these famine relief operations and I do claim that I have some experience of it. But I was really surprised that Mr. Suryanarayana Rao should call me a brown bureaucrat. I do not know why he called me so. I can assure him that if it is necessary, I will act as a bureaucrat to see that my orders are obeyed, but if it is a matter of doing something good by the people, I am prepared to shed the aspect of bureaucracy and act as a democrat interested in the welfare of the people and give succour to the people as speedily as possible.

" Then, the question was raised, 'Have the Government got a list of works which they want to take up.' I had a talk with the Chief Engineer for Irrigation and other officers concerned and I have asked them to prepare a list of works for various areas. It has been decided that even in cases where a particular tank may not require normally any special attention, it can, as famine relief work, provide work of a type that will be easily handled by the local people. We have suggested that tank-beds may be deepened and the bunds may be raised so that the storage capacities of the tanks may be improved. We have also suggested that tanks in those areas which normally do not require immediate attention should be taken up. Even in regard to minor irrigation tanks, we said that we shall improve them so as to increase the storage capacities of the tanks. That is the programme that we have got with regard to the improvement of these irrigation tanks—both major and minor.

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“ Then the question was raised that the Government were hesitating to sanction the Sagileru Project in the Cuddapah district. This is a subject that has been raised quite often by representatives of the people from Cuddapah. Whoever visits that area is told by the people there that this project should be taken up immediately. Recently, when Mr. Munshi was there, the same request was made to him. I saw in the papers that the same request was also made to His Excellency the Governor when he visited that area a few days ago. Sir, when the question was examined, the Public Works Department felt that the taking up of this project would not provide as much employment as was represented by the people. After all, the minor works will cost about five to six lakhs of rupees but there is more work costing about sixty or seventy lakhs of rupees by way of dyke construction, but this scheme has not been approved by the Planning Commission and therefore we thought that before taking up with the concerned authority the final programme of the Sagileru Project, we could take up other projects without waiting to go through other formalities. Sir, I can assure this House that the Government are actively examining the taking up of this project and I hope it will be possible, if certain conditions required by the Public Works Department are satisfied, to take up this project so that it will meet the demands of the local people. It will also satisfy the sentiments of the local people, for there is a strong feeling in that part of the country that this project will bring great benefit to them.

“ Sir, my hon. Friend Mr. Adityan drew very generously on his imagination so far as Mr. Munshi's visit was concerned. I was with Mr. Munshi throughout his recent tour in Rayalaseema. It is not true that Mr. Munshi pulled out an able-bodied man standing in a queue before a gruel centre. It is true that we did find a few able-bodied men here and there in some of the gruel centres. It is also true that we did tell those people that it is not proper that they should seek the help of gruel centres and that they should work.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ But it was also reported in the press.”

* THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—“ May I request the hon. Member to believe my words. May I ask him whether he believes my statement or that of a newspaper report? It is open to him to believe me or not. I can only state facts. I cannot force my ideas on him. If in spite of my statement, he believes in the newspaper report, I have no objection. I can only tell him that it is not true. It is true that those able-bodied men wanted work and we have been trying to find some work for them. So, it is not a fact that an able-bodied man was pulled out.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ Is it the policy of the Government that able-bodied men should not be provided with gruel? ”

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* THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—“ Yes, Sir. I do not want able-bodied men to become beggars. I want able-bodied men to work and earn their living and not be beggars.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ Do the Government provide employment for them? ”

* THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—“ Yes, Sir.

“ My Hon. Friend Mr. Adityan has again repeated the same old thing that he said last time, namely, that this Government have been spending large sums of money on Police and Jails and that if a Government other than the Congress Government was formed, there would be peace, plenty and prosperity. If he still continues to be under that belief, I have absolutely no objection, but in my view he will not have that opportunity.

“ Sir, certain remarks were made by the hon. Member who claims to be a Member of the Muslim League (Interruption) and who is a Muslim Leaguer. He took a long time to prove that he was absolutely above communal considerations. He did not perhaps use the word ‘ secular ’, but he wanted to impress upon everybody in this House that so far as the Muslim League was concerned, it was secular and that the Congress alone was communal. That is what he sought to prove and he also created a new class of people—that is what I felt about it—by saying that there are Congress Hindus and Non-Congress Hindus. Apart from that, he is a very capable man. Sir, one way of testing the correctness of the statement about a particular individual or an organization is to consider his or its past. What has been the past history of his organization? It was nothing but communal. It was a communal organization. To call the Congress which was responsible for bringing about a secular State in this country as a communal organization is a thing which will not at least be accepted as true by intelligent people. However much my hon. Friend may try to argue, I know it has been the monopoly of his organization to be communal. It is well-known throughout India. However much he may try to emphasise, he cannot get over that fact. I do not want to enter into a controversy over this question. I want to know why the Muslim League did not set up candidates—if it is such a wonderful secular organization—except in those pockets where his own community is in a majority and why they supported candidates of other parties and called them ‘ League-supported candidates ’ and not League candidates. That is a new sort of technique evolved by his party. (Interruption.) Apart from that, I am only saying that however much my hon. Friend may claim or try to prove that he is absolutely non-communal, the facts are there. The organization is there. Its past is there. I hope at least its future will be what my hon. Friend has described it to be and wants it to be.

“ Sir, some arguments were advanced about Prohibition. Prohibition has been introduced with a view to help the poor man in this State and with a view to implement a Directive Principle

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of the Constitution. That cannot be denied. If in its working it has been found that unscrupulous people or non-law-abiding people have taken advantage and disobeyed the law, it does not make it a bad measure. It is a good measure. I do not think that any member of this House has said that Prohibition as a policy is bad but the whole complaint is that it is not worked effectively. Sir, we have been spending large sums of money on its enforcement. It is a social measure which can succeed very well if there is active co-operation from all sections of the people. It is a measure that is intended to benefit the people and it is for the people to take full advantage of it. It is for the organizations who believe in this policy to help the Government to see that it is properly enforced and worked. It is not merely a question of appointing a few more police. Additional police is necessary to the extent we want to put down those people who are prepared to go to any length to defy the law. But ultimately the success of the policy will depend upon the co-operation of the people. Several hon. Members have made suggestions both in this House and in the other House and I am sure the Government of the future will take into consideration all the suggestions made by them. I should like to thank the hon. Members for the various suggestions that they have made."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I now adjourn the House till 11 a.m. on Friday, the 28th instant."

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Friday, 28th March 1952.

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TRUTH ALONE TRIUMPHS